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RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6355
INFO FRANCPHONE COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, PHUM, PREF, RW, FR
SUBJECT: FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION
IN RWANDA: JUNE 16 DISCUSSIONS WITH A/S MOOSE

REF: A) PERLOW-BUSHNELL TELECON, 6/16, B) PERLOW AF/C
TELECONS, 6/16

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: THE GOF INTENTION TO SEND A HUMANITARIAN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 17 JUN 2016
DATE/CASE ID: 06 MAY 2011 201005065

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FORCE TO RWANDA IF THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT SIGNED AT THE OAU SUMMIT FAILS TO TAKE HOLD DOMINATED A/S MOOSE'S DISCUSSIONS IN PARIS ON JUNE 16. THE DISCUSSIONS MADE CLEAR THAT A COMBINATION OF UNREMITTINGLY NEGATIVE MEDIA PRESSURE, THE FAILURE OF THE UN OR OAU OR ACT, AND GENUINE HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS PUSHED TO GOF TO MAKE THIS ANNOUNCEMENT PRIOR TO UNDERTAKING CONSULTATIONS IN NEW YORK OR WITH POTENTIAL TROOP DONORS. THE FRENCH ARE STILL DEVELOPING THEIR OPERATIONAL PLANS AND LONGER TERM POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. THE FRENCH HAVE NOT SET ANY DEADLINES OR MADE PUBLIC SPECIFIC CRITERIA THAT WILL BE USED IN THEIR DECISION MAKING PROCESS.

3. THE FRENCH ENVISAGE A RELATIVELY BRIEF OPERATION, UNDER UN AUSPICES, WITH PERHAPS 2,000 TROOPS. THEIR INTENTION IS PROTECT CIVILIAN POPULATIONS -- NOT TO SERVE AS AN INTERPOSITION FORCE -- UNTIL THE UN CAN ORGANIZE A FULL SCALE PKO. THE GOF HAS NO/NO INTENTION OF SEIZING THE KIGALI AIRPORT OR ENTERING INTO COMBAT AGAINST EITHER SIDE. OPERATIONS WOULD BEGIN FROM

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NEIGHBORING STATES -- PARTICULARLY ZAIRE. THE FRENCH HAVE BEGUN CONSULTATIONS WITH A NUMBER OF AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN CAPITALS, SEEKING THEIR PARTICIPATION. FOREIGN MINISTER JUPPE SPOKE WITH BOUTROS GHALI ABOUT THE PROPOSAL AND RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF AUTHORIZING A TEMPORARY TRANSFER OF UNOSOM FORCES FROM SOMALIA TO RWANDA -- AN IDEA THE UNSYG REPORTEDLY DID NOT REJECT.

4. MOOSE NOTED THAT THE GOF PLAN HAS SEVERAL MERITS -- NOT LEAST THE SPEED WITH WHICH IT COULD BE CARRIED OUT.

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END SUMMARY.

5. A/S MOOSE MET WITH SENIOR GOF AFRICANISTS ON JUNE 16 IN PARIS. THE PRINCIPAL TOPIC OF DISCUSSION WAS RWANDA AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT THE PREVIOUS DAY BY FOREIGN MINISTER JUPPE OF THE GOF INTENTION TO INTERVENE

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MILITARILY IN RWANDA IF THE "TOTAL" CEASE-FIRE (I.E. INCLUDING AN END TO ETHNIC MASSACRES) AGREED AT THE OAU SUMMIT IS NOT EFFECTIVE. FRENCH PARTICIPANTS INCLUDED THE QUAI DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS, JEAN-MARC ROCHEREAU DE LA SABLIERE; ELYSEE ADVISOR BRUNO DELAYE; AFRICAN AFFAIRS AIDE TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER, NATHALIE LOISEAU-DUCOULOMBIER; AND JEAN-MARC SIMON, DEPUTY CHIEF
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OF STAFF TO THE MINISTER OF COOPERATION. EXCHANGES ON ANGOLA AND ZAIRE (INCLUDING WITH RPR ADVISOR WIBAUX) WILL BE REPORTED SEPTEL. U.S PARTICIPANTS INCLUDED EMBASSY PARIS POLMINCOUNSELOR BELLAMY, AF SPECIAL ASSISTANT ERVIN AND PARIS AFRICA WATCHER PERLOW (NOTETAKER).

THE FRENCH DECISION

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6. DE LA SABLIERE STATED THAT THE DECISION, WHICH HAD BEEN COORDINATED WITH PRESIDENT MITTERRAND AND PRIME MINISTER BALLADUR, HAD BEEN TAKEN "SOLELY FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS." THE CONTINUED MASSACRES AND THE INABILITY OF THE UN, THE OAU OR REGIONAL STATES TO ACT HAVE BECOME "MORALLY INTOLERABLE" FOR THE GOF. HE STRESSED THAT THE ARMS FLOW TO BOTH SIDES IS CONTINUING, GIVING EVERY INDICATION THAT THE FIGHTING -- AND MASSACRES -- WILL CONTINUE FOR SOME TIME.

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DUCOULOMBIER STATED THAT CONTINUED DISCUSSION AT THE UN WITHOUT ANY ACTION WILL ONLY ENCOURAGE THE HUTU MILITIAS AND THE FAR TO CONTINUE THE MASSACRES, WITH IMPUNITY.

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7. FOREIGN MINISTER JUPPE SPOKE WITH BOUTROS GHALI BY TELEPHONE ON JUNE 15 TO INFORM HIM OF THE GOF DECISION.

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WHAT BASIS FOR GOF INTERVENTION?

8.

DISCUSSIONS ARE SCHEDULED TO BE HELD WITH DEFENSE MINISTRY PERSONNEL ON JUNE 16. HOWEVER, SOME ELEMENTS OF FRENCH THINKING ON POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS ARE CLEAR:

-- THE GOF IS WELL AWARE THAT A UNILATERAL (OR FRANCOPHONE) MILITARY OPERATION -- EVEN FOR CLEARLY HUMANITARIAN PURPOSES -- COULD BE MISINTERPRETED BY THE RPF AS A HOSTILE DECISION GIVEN FRANCE'S PAST INTERVENTION IN SUPPORT OF THE HABYARIMANA GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, NO DISCUSSIONS HAVE YET TAKEN PLACE WITH THE RPF.

FRANCE

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INTENDS TO SEEK UNSC SUPPORT FOR AN OPERATION OF LIMITED DURATION, AND THE GOF PERMREP WILL CONTACT THE P-5 REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW YORK SHORTLY. WHILE FRANCE WOULD PREFER TO ACT UNDER A UNSC RESOLUTION, "IT IS NOT PREPARED TO WAIT FOREVER."

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TELEVISED INTERVIEW AT 2000 HRS HOURS PARIS TIME ON
JUNE 16, FOREIGN MINISTER JUPPE (RESPONDING TO A QUERY
ON NEGATIVE REACTIONS FROM LONDON AND BRUSSELS) STATED
THAT "FRANCE WOULD NOT INTERVENE ALONE" AND WOULD ACT
WITH A "GREEN LIGHT" FROM THE UN.

-- THE GOF INTENTION IS TO PROVIDE A "BRIDGING"
OPERATION TO ALLOW THE UN TIME ORGANIZE A FULL-SCALE
PKO. DE LA SABLIERE STATED THAT THE GOF COULD ANNOUNCE
A DEPARTURE DATE WHEN THE OPERATION BEGINS IN ORDER TO
PRESS THE UN INTO MOVING QUICKLY.

-- THE GOF THINKS THAT THE OPERATION COULD BE CARRIED
OUT WITH PERHAPS 2,000 SOLDIERS, BUT THE EXACT FIGURE
WOULD DEPEND ON OBJECTIVES AND MILITARY PLANNING.
DE LA SABLIERE STRESSED THAT THE GOF HAS NO/NO
INTENTION OF ATTEMPTING TO SEIZE THE KIGALI AIRPORT OR
ENTERING INTO CONFLICT WITH THE RPF.

-- THE GOF WOULD STAGE ITS FORCES THROUGH NEIGHBORING
STATES, PARTICULARLY THE ZAIRIAN CITY OF GOMA. THE GOF
IS ALSO PREPARED TO CONSIDER USING TANZANIAN OR EVEN
UGANDAN TERRITORY, IF THOSE GOVERNMENTS GIVE THEIR
ASSENT.

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FRANCE WOULD SEEK THE PARTICIPATION OF OTHER AFRICAN STATES AND HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH SEVERAL DONORS. HOWEVER, SUCH PARTICIPATION WOULD BE ONE OF MANY DETERMINING FACTORS FOR THE GOF.

U.S. PERSPECTIVE ON THE FRENCH PROPOSAL: SOME MERITS...

9. MOOSE RESPONDED THAT GIVEN THE CONTINUED FIGHTING AND HORRIFIC ETHNIC MASSACRES IN RWANDA, THE FRENCH PROPOSAL HAS MERIT, ESPECIALLY THE RELATIVE SPEED WITH WHICH IT COULD BE EXECUTED. IT IS UNLIKELY, HE ACKNOWLEDGED, THAT THE UN WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ACT QUICKLY, EVEN IF THE CEASE-FIRE HOLDS, AND THAT

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10. GIVEN THE ABSOLUTE NEED FOR ANY PKO TO AVOID ENTERING INTO A COMBAT SITUATION WITH THE RPF OR THE FAR, MOOSE NOTED THAT IT IS PARTICULARLY TRAGIC THAT THE USG PROPOSAL 5 WEEKS AGO FOR "PROTECTED ENCLAVES" WAS NOT SUPPORTED MORE STRONGLY SINCE IT SEEMS SIMILAR TO WHAT THE GOF HAS IN MIND AND COULD HAVE SAVED THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT LIVES. THE FRENCH MADE NO RESPONSE.

...AND SOME RISKS

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12. MOOSE STATED THAT WHILE LOGISTICAL OR OTHER
CONSIDERATIONS MIGHT MAKE IT ADVANTAGEOUS FOR THE
FRENCH MILITARY TO RELY HEAVILY ON GOMA, IT

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HE URGED THAT
THE FRENCH NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF USING
BURUNDIAN TERRITORY. THE FRENCH WELCOMED THIS NEWS AND
STATED THEY WOULD RAISE IT WITH THE GOB, IF NEEDED.

RISKS II: FRANCOPHONE CONSIDERATIONS

13. MOOSE NEXT URGED THAT FRENCH TO SEEK THE
PARTICIPATION AND SUPPORT OF NON-FRANCOPHONE STATES FOR
ANY HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION FORCE, POINTING OUT IT
COULD HELP CALM RPF CONCERNS.

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THE UNOSOM OPTION

14. MOOSE NOTED THAT THE USG WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER
CAREFULLY ANY PROPOSAL FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF UNOSOM
FORCES FROM SOMALIA, GIVEN THE STILL VOLATILE SITUATION
THERE. HE ADDED THAT SUCH A STEP WOULD REQUIRE
THOROUGH CONSULTATIONS IN NEW YORK.

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COMMENT

15. FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE, THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, IN ADDITION TO GENUINE HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS, IS ACTING UNDER THE IMPULSION OF UNREMITTINGLY NEGATIVE PRESS CRITICISM (EVEN IN THE CENTER-RIGHT "LE FIGARO") AND THE FEAR THAT CONTINUED CHAOS IN RWANDA WILL ENGULF THE REGION, THE GOF

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17. THIS MESSAGE WAS DRAFTED FOLLOWING THE DEPARTURE

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18. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

HARRIMAN

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